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527 are of considerable importance to Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They not only serve as a common meeting ground for Indians, but their effect reinforces membership and consciousness of membership in Indian society.

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517 Contrary to what I had supposed, social clubs of various types were not an important factor in the development of Pan-Indianism among the Cherokee-Delawares. Not one person was ever found who belonged to any national Indian organization, such as the National Congress of American Indians. In fact, many people professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these formal Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded here. In passing, it might be noted that these organizations are possibly some sort of concrete expression of this acculturative trend among other Indian groups. Informal social clubs have some bearing upon Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's Club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County, which holds monthly meetings, has rummage sales, luncheons, and the like. Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho. Membership in this organization has declined since the war and none of the women interviewed belonged to it. It should be emphasized that this organization was Indian in character and not tribal. There has never been a men's club.

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582 Extratribal marriage is an important factor in Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism and assimilation. The Cherokee-Delawares are at the present time tribally exogamous. The youngest all-Delaware marriage I could find was between a man of thirty-eight and a woman of thirty-five, and this seems to have been somewhat exceptional. Only three living couples were found in which both partners claimed to be entirely Delaware, although a number of old widows and widowers had had Delaware spouses. Marriage to Indians of other tribes is the usual custom, but marriage to whites is not uncommon. Cherokee-Delawares have married Comanches, Senecas, Shawnees, Cherokees, Creeks, Yuchis, Perorias, and undoubtedly Indians of other tribes. How the Indian parents in these mixed marriages classify their children is indicative of the feelings about Pan-Indianism. If parents are questioned about tribal affiliation of their children, they may simply reply without much thought, "Indian," or with a little thought they may say, "Yuchi-Creek-Delaware," or something similarly artificial. Occasionally, they will skirt the question by giving the tribe in which the children are enrolled by the government. The wholesale marriage of the younger generation of Delawares to Indians of other tribes must be considered an important influence in the growth of Pan-Indianism. On the other hand, the marriage of Delawares to whites naturally, perhaps inevitably, results in further culture loss and completed assimilation. This would be particularly true of the individual who marries a white person and moves to an all-white community. Those individuals who marry whites but remain in an Indian community have, of course, a much better opportunity to retain Indian ways, and white marriage partners may become participants in Indian

OF THE DELAWARE INDIANS

121

society. In one instance a Delaware woman's white husband has become a peyotist; he sings peyote songs and has served as fire chief in meetings.

The minority role and the consciousness of this standing on the part of the Cherokee-Delawares has also promoted Pan-Indianism. Discrimination against the Indians would presumably lead to feelings of isolation, persecution, and difference, perhaps greater than actually existed, and hence strengthen Pan-Indian society.³² It is difficult, however, to assess the extent of discrimination against the Cherokee-Delawares. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recognize an Indian, whether on a racial or social basis. With the high incidence of past miscegenation, the high frequency of present-day mixed marriages, and the assimilation in dress, speech, and manners, a race bigot must have a high degree of perception to recognize and act against this minority. A number of tales of alleged discrimination were current in the community, but only one of these incidents (in rental housing) could be substantiated. Actual discrimination of any sort is probably rare, but there is a fairly widespread knowledge or belief that it exists. A universal awareness of past discrimination and exploitation and a knowledge of discrimination against Indians elsewhere are factors which encourage Pan-Indianism.

There are several other conditions which set the Cherokee-Delawares and other Indians apart as a minority group, and so contribute to Pan-Indianism. The Cherokee-Delawares have access to free services of government hospitals and schools, which in itself sets them apart from the whites. It also provides an opportunity for the Cherokee-Delawares to become well acquainted with Indians of other tribes. This is particularly true in schools where the association may be continued over a number of years. Government schools, however, are attended by the Cherokee-Delawares less frequently than formerly. Some of the attitudes of whites toward the Indian minority also serve to foster Pan-Indianism. To many an Oklahoman an Indian is an Indian, not a Cherokee, Kickapoo, or Delaware. The movies, the magazines, and other outlets of public information are constantly impressing upon him that he is an American Indian; no public agency impresses upon him the fact that he is a Delaware.³³ Many whites in Washington County were totally unaware that such a tribe as the Delaware existed. They were well aware, however, that there were many Indians in the county.

There are forces which hinder and oppose the development of Pan-Indianism, but it is difficult to assess many of them because they are of a negative and subjective nature. It is difficult to estimate, for instance, the pressure exerted by the dominant society for complete conformity. Whatever the extent of pressure for "100 per cent Americanism," it is not at present particularly noticeable; it seems instead that the Delawareans are sufficiently assimilated linguistically, economically, and in

³²Wirth, 1945, pp. 348-49, contains a pertinent discussion of this subject.

³³Mead, 1932, pp. 67-68, noted these factors more than two decades ago.

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736 given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

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144 A few negroes are found among the Indians having been either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

431 They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

522 They are able to control their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

521 The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

A History of the Indians.

141

The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *W'sinkhoalican*, that is ⁷⁷⁸image. It ⁵³²is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. ³⁰¹ These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *W'sinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success. [788]

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. ¹⁴⁴ Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit. ⁸⁴⁵

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another. ¹⁹⁷

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys ³⁰⁰ who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders ³⁰⁷ bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Wopano not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

133 pinger confederacy, and the Iroquoian Susquehannas. Contacts
177 with the Iroquois were probably not very numerous until the Iro-
quois destroyed the Susquehanna in 1676. In 1689 contact with
the Shawnee was first reported. Friendly relations with this tribe
have continued to the present day but were particularly close
during their residence in Ohio and Indiana. Their migrations
westward brought them in contact with many other tribes, the
Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, Miami, Pawnee, Osage, Quapaw, and
Cherokee to mention only the most important.

177 It is impossible to detect the full effect of each of these con-
tacts upon the Delaware culture. Intermarriages took place with
some of these tribes that there is no way of tracing. Genealogical
research among the living Delaware is of no help since, generally
speaking, the horizon of their memories is reached at three
generations. Also complicating the picture is the fact that adop-
tion completely wiped out tribal origin. The effect of all these con-
tacts with other tribes was not, however, as great as the influence
of the more powerful and more divergent culture of the whites.

THE DELAWARE TODAY

162 The census of 1930 listed 971 Delaware and Munsee in the
United States, of whom 874 were living in Oklahoma. Of these
20.2 per cent were reported as full blooded. An examination of
the instructions to the enumerators of the census reveals that
the individual was asked for the percentage of Indian blood he
144 possessed and the tribe to which he belonged. The census figures
161 do not show the amount of mixture between tribes. According
to the information I could get from the Indians themselves, it
is very doubtful if there is a single full-blooded Delaware today.
Many who are less than half Delaware consider themselves all
Delaware, and would so state if casually asked, but even a short
genealogy usually shows a mixture with white blood and also
with that of other tribes. In 1865 the Indian agent among the
Delaware reported that intermarriage was lessening the Indian
blood among various tribes and that there was no remarkable in-

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hundred in number. ¹⁴⁴₁₆₁

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors. ¹⁰¹₄₂₃ ⁴³⁴_[427] ^[427]

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief. ¹⁷⁷₄₄ ⁶⁶⁶₆₂₂

¹Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . . (Senate Reports, 19 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.*

connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

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Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.* Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.* The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tōōk-seet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tōōk-waa* round & *oozēet* foot) the *Tshēekunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelāōooh*, and the *Tōōlpaa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skēēhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonāūmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalāūhtekoa*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonāūmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

*Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.

*Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society* . . . (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

33

required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as ⁷⁷⁶ *man'itu* deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanguinity applied to deities and ⁷⁷⁶ nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the applica- ⁸²⁹ tion of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification ⁶⁰⁵ is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Witapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Witapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.¹

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved ⁵³² images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious ⁷⁷⁸ thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the

¹ Zelsberger, (op. cit., p. 100) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnoes" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zelsberger also says that the Wyandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zelsberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwees (Miami), Wawilachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipoways, Ottawas, Putewoataimen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zelsberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood."

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chippewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Witapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zelsberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahikan call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

61

bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.¹

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propagated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois² as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.³

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.⁴ Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

¹ Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

² A. C. Parker, *The Code of Handsome Lake*, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

³ For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.³ tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." *Pioneer Priests of North Amer.* N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 169.

⁴ The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (*Anthropology*, N. Y. p. 252, f. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

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177

materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

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The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens; as the Delawares are quite vigorous against intermarriage with the whites, and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

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The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance ridiculous. There were many good faces among them, and also well dressed Indians

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